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FM AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 2582

INFO RUFHRS/AMEMBASSY ALGIERS 1419

RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0830

RUDKBT/AMEMBASSY RABAT 1436

RUDKKR/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 2409

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 TRIPOLI 1144

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR

SUBJECT: QADHAFI'S OCTOBER 7 SPEECH

REF: FBIS AMMAN JN072025Y

1. SUMMARY: IN A THREE AND ONE-HALF HOUR SPEECH BEFORE A LARGELY BEDUIN AUDIENCE, QADHAFI WARMED UP WITH A BITTER ATTACK ON DEPARTED ITALIANS, THE U.S. AND THE SINAI AGREEMENT.

HE MADE MUCH OF THE FREE UNIONIST OFFICERS, WHOM HE SEEMS TO BE PREPARING FOR SOME POLITICAL ROLE FOR THE FIRST TIME. HE SAID THAT TWO COUP ATTEMPTS AGAINST HIM HAD BEEN CAUSED BY PERSONAL DISAGREEMENTS, AND HE DENOUNCED TRIBAL INTERVENTION IN POLITICS, WHICH HE SAID HAD SPOILED HIS EARLIER EXPERIMENTS IN MASS POLITICAL ACTION. HE DENIED HE HAD ANY INTENTION OF GRANTING THE SOVIETS BASES, AND DEFENDED FOREIGN AID BUT SAID LIBYA MUST BE ECONOMICALLY STRONG FIRST. HIS REMARKS REFLECT BOTH AN AWARENESS OF DOMESTIC CRITICISM AND A DETERMINATION TO BROADEN HIS CONTROL OF THE ARMY. END SUMMARY

2. AT THE SITE OF ONE OF DETENTION CAMPS WHERE LIBYAN BEDUINS WERE ROUNDED UP DURING THE ITALO-SENUSI WARS OF THE 1920'S, COLONEL QADHAFI MADE ONE OF HIS VINTAGE STREAM OF CONSCIOUSNESS SPEECHES. FBIS HAS COVERED THE EARLY PARTS OF THE SPEECH, DEVOTED TO AN UNSURPRISING ATTACK ON THE DEPARTED ITALIANS, THE U.S. AND THE SINAI AGREEMENT, THOROUGHLY. (QADHAFI ACCUSED THE U.S. OF SENDING 100 PLANES FROM AN AIRCRAFT CARRIER TO THREATEN HIM LAST YEAR, PROBABLY A REFERENCE TO A JANUARY 10, 1975 INCIDENT.) THIS MESSAGE REPORTS

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AND COMMENTS ON SIGNIFICANT PASSAGES IN THE QADHAFI THREE AND ONE-HALF HOUR SPEECH WHICH WERE NOT COVERED BY FBIS. IT SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND THROUGHOUT THAT QADHAFI'S AUDIENCE WAS LARGELY MADE UP OF BEDUINS FROM THE SURROUNDING COUNTRYSIDE.

3. TWO COUP ATTEMPTS: QADHAFI SAID THERE HAD BEEN TWO ATTEMPTS TO OVERTHROW HIM SINCE HE TOOK POWER, ONE SHORTLY AFTER THE REVOLUTION, AND THE SECOND A SHORT TIME AGO: "YOU KNOW ABOUT THEM ANYWAY. THE REASONS WERE PURELY PERSONAL. TWO PEOPLE BECAME ENEMIES AND ONE OF THEM DECIDED TO CARRY OUT A COUP. THE FIRST TIME, ONE FELLOW HAD SAID TO ANOTHER, YOU'RE A MONKEY, AND THE SECOND FELLOW SWORE TO CARRY OUT A COUP SO THAT HE COULD PUT THE OTHER ONE IN PRISON. IT WAS ALL FOR PURELY PERSONAL REASONS. I TELL YOU THIS SO THAT YOU WILL BE WIDE AWAKE AND UNDERSTAND EVERYTHING."

4. TRIBALISM AND ARMY OFFICERS: AN EXTENDED DISCUSSION OF HIS PLAN TO SET UP "BASIC POPULAR CONGRESSES" LED QADHAFI INTO A DISCUSSION OF TRIBALISM. "THE WORLD MUST UNDERSTAND, AS I WILL SET FORTH IN THE GREEN BOOK, THAT THE TRIBE IS AN EXTREMELY FINE AND USEFUL SOCIAL ORGANISM, BUT IT MUST NOT INTERVENE IN POLITICS . . . GO AHEAD AND SPEND THE HOLIDAYS WITH YOUR TRIBE, MARRY WITHIN YOUR TRIBE, AND HELP EACH OTHER . . . BUT FOR THE TRIBE TO INTERVENE IN POLITICS IS MORALLY WRONG . . . NO ONE WILL PREVENT YOU FROM BEING DEVOTED TO YOUR TRIBE OR CLAN . . . BUT THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THERE HAS TO BE ONE PERSON FROM MY TRIBE SITTING ON A POPULAR COMMITTEE. TRIBAL CONFLICT AND CLAN FANATICISM RUIN OUR DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENTS . . . I DO NOT WANT ANY ONE TO COME TO THE NATIONAL CONGRESS BECAUSE PEOPLE FROM HIS TRIBE HAVE CHOSE HIM TO LOOK OUT FOR THEIR INTERESTS. THE NATIONAL CONGRESS IS A SERIOUS, SERIOUS MATTER."

5. QADHAFI SAID THAT THE FREE UNIONIST OFFICERS MOVEMENT HAS SUCCEEDED IN OVERTHROWING THE MONARCHY BECAUSE ITS MEMBERS FROM ALL PARTS OF LIBYA

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HAD IGNORED TRIBAL AND REGIONAL CONSIDERATIONS. QADHAFI SAID THAT THE FREE OFFICERS HAD NOT BEEN INVOLVED IN EITHER OF THE COUP ATTEMPTS AGAINST THE REGIME. "THE FREE UNIONIST OFFICER MOVEMENT IS STILL SOUND AND FAITHFUL TO IT PRINCIPLES." ITS INFLUENCE WAS SPREADING ELSEWHERE IN THE ARAB WORLD, TO JORDAN FOR EXAMPLE. IT WAS A MODEL FOR ARABS EVERYWHERE, THE LIBYAN PEOPLE SHOULD LOOK TO THE FREE UNIONIST OFFICERS FOR LEADERSHIP, AND PUT THEM AT THE HEAD OF POPULAR CONGRESSES BECAUSE "WE ARE SURE OF THEM," BUT NO "FACIST INFILTRATOR" WOULD BE ALLOWED TO LEAD A BRIGADE OR A PLATOON, AND SUCH PERSONS WOULD BE CRUSHED.

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TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 2583

INFO RUFHRS/AMEMBASSY ALGIERS 1420

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RUDKBT/AMEMBASSY RABAT 1437

RUDKKR/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 2410

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6. NO SOVIET BASES: QADHAFI MADE A PASSING REFERENCE TO THOSE WHO ACCUSE HIM OF GIVING THE SOVIETS BASES. NOTHING COULD BE FURTHER FROM THE TRUTH, HE SAID. "IS IT REASONABLE THAT AT THE SAME TIME WE CELEBRATE THE EXPULSION OF THE AMERICAN WE WOULD ALLOW THE RUSSIANS TO SET UP BASES?"

7. FOREIGN AID AND ARAB UNITY: QADHAFI SAID DEFESIVELY THAT SOME PEOPLE COMPLAINED THAT LIBYA WAS GIVING TOO MUCH MONEY AWAY TO "BLACKS" IN PLACES LIKE CHAD AND SUDAN. "I TELL YOU THAT LIBYA IS THE MOST MISERLY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD. I AM ASHAMED SOMETIMES." LIBYA WOULD BE ABLE TO EXTEND AID TO ARABS, FRIENDS, AND BROTHERS WHEN IT WAS ECONOMICALLY STRONG. "WHEN WE BUILD LIBYA, WE HASTEN THE DAY OF ARAB UNITY AND THE FINAL VICTORY OVER IMPERIALISM." SOME PEOPLE COMPAINED THAT PALESTINE WAS A LONG WAS OFF, AND THAT THERE WERE MORE URGENT PROBLEMOM AT HOME. BUT THE DEFENSE OF PALESTINE AMOUNTED TO THE DEFENSE OF LIBYA.

8. TOWARDS THE END OF THE SPEECH, AFTER DWELLING AT LENGTH ON HIS PLANS FOR REORGANIZING THE LIBYAN ASU INTO CONGRESSES, AND ON THE NECESSITY FOR EVERY LIBYAN TO REGISTER FOR THE ASU ON PAIN OF BEING A POLITICAL NON-PERSON, QADHAFI TURNED TO HIS OWN ROLE. AFTER NOTING THAT HE HAD PRESENTED HIS RESIGNATION ALMOST EVERY YEAR SINCE 1969, QADHAFI SAID THAT NOW HE FELT HE MUST REMAIN "NEAR YOU TO LEAD THESE REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS DIRECTLY." HE MIGHT PASS FROM THE SCENE

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HE MIGHT EVEN HAVE A "HEART ATTACK", BUT THE REVOLUTION WOULD GO ON.

9. COMMENT: THERE IS MUCH OF INTEREST IN WHAT QADHAFI HAD TO SAY, PARTICULARLY ABOUT THE NEW POLITICAL ROLE HE SEEMS TO BE PREPARING TO GIVE TO THE FREE UNIONIST OFFICERS, AN AMORPHOUS BODY OF HIS SUPPORTERS IN THE ARMY WHOSE MEMBERSHIP WE HAVE ALWAYS HAD TROUBLE IDENTIFYING. IN CONTRAST TO THE RCC, WHICH HAS BEEN TORN APART BY BICKERING AND MUHAYSHI'S PLOTTING ("THE SECOND ATTEMPT").

THE FREE UNIONIST OFFICERS ARE ABSOLVED OF ANY TAIN FROM MUHAYSHI'S CONSPIRACY, AND DECLARED TO BE FIT TO LEAD THE MASSES. "FACIST INFILTRATORS" IN THE ARMY, ON THE OTHER HAD, WILL GET NO MERCY. THE CHOICE QADHAFI IS GIVING TO THE OFFICER CORPS OF THE ARMY IS CLEAR, AS IS HIS DETERMINATION TO RETAIN AND BROADEN HIS CONTROL OF THE ARMY.

10. ALSO NOTEWORTHY ARE QADHAFI'S DEFENSIVE ATTEMPTS TO JUSTIFY FOREIGN SPENDING AND FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS. HE IS OBVIOUSLY TAKING DOMESTIC CRITICISM OF HIS FREE SPENDING ABROAD SERIOUSLY. AS HIS REMARKS REFLECT, MANY RACIALLY CONSCIOUS LIBYANS ARE PARTICULARLY INCENSED AT THE IDEA THAT THEIR MONEY IS GOING TO AFRICAN "BLACKS." QADHAFI WILL NOT DRAW HIS HORNS IN IF HE CAN GET AWAY WITH IT, BUT HIS SILENCING OF PROPAGANDA ATTACKS ON PRESIDENT SADAT, DESPITE HIS BITTER OPPOSITION TO THE SINAI AGREEMENT, IS A SIGN THAT HE DOES NOT HAVE THE COMPLETELY FREE HAND IN THESE MATTERS HE USED TO HAVE. STEIN